

# CLASS WAR

## Internationalist News and Analysis

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### Hands off the Roma and all immigrants! No deportations!

Newly elected "Socialist" Party President Hollande is continuing Sarkozy's racist policy of police raids and deportations of the Roma. Wasting no time in expressing his social chauvinism, he was inaugurated in May and the raids commenced in August. Socialist Party Interior Minister Manuel Valls had stated that court orders to remove illegal camps would be executed "with firmness." Earth-movers were used to level the camps and hundreds have been deported to Eastern Europe. In late August, the French cops evicted some 600 Roma from two camps near Paris. That same week they evicted a Roma camp at Saint Priest, near Lyon, and the Roma were evacuated from a camp at Evry, also near Paris.

The mystique of French egalitarianism is revealed as mere phantasm. The petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy fall victim to the reactionary fear-based consciousness of social chauvinism leaning on racism and leading to scapegoating. This backward consciousness is utilized opportunistically by the capitalists' politicians while the fascists gain adherents among the frustrated petty bourgeois middle classes and lumpen layers of the dispossessed. The Stalinist PCF, the French Communist Party is responding to Hollande's outrages against

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### VICTORY TO THE WAL-MART ORGANIZING DRIVE!

From extraction to production, to distribution and retail: organize every worker who touches, moves or sells the products-every step of the supply chain! The American Wal-Mart workers hit the bricks in late September and early October. The series of worker led actions commenced with a 50 mile trek from Wal-Mart's warehouse distribution hub in Ontario, CA,



to LA protesting abusive working conditions. Within a week Wal-Mart workers across the country put both Capital and Labor on notice by striking without a recognized union. From the Marikana miners in South Africa to the Foxconn manufacturing workers in China to Wal-Mart workers we are done lying down and accepting the super exploitation of the imperialist multinationals without a fight!

Wal-Mart, a mega imperialist corporation and largest private employer in the United States has long sought to drive down American workers conditions to that of their co-workers in the semi-colonial world. The message today in semi-colonies and in the imperialist center is the worker's can't take it any more; they can not wait for the official union movement so they are creating new organizations

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### Lessons of the Chicago Teachers Strike

Despite the resolve of the working class displayed, massive demonstrations, strong picket lines and unwavering parent/student support, the reformers (CORE) in the leadership of the CTU showed its true colors Friday, 9/14, announcing that settlement had been reached and that after a vote of the teachers' House of Delegates planned for Sunday, the teachers would have gone to the class room Monday the 17th without ever seeing or voting on the contract. Under pressure from the rank and file in the House of Delegates the planned capitulation was postponed over the objection of fake socialist Jesse Starkey, who has acted to keep the membership in the dark. The reformists are maintaining the fantasy that you can win a major strike by keeping the membership and their mass of working class supporters out of the discussion on the proposed contract provisions. This strike was as much the parents and students strike as it was the teachers. To win, the leadership of the strike needed to include the great mass of the Chicago working class. The first requirement for this mobilization is full disclosure. How else would the workers expect to defeat Emanuel's injunction tactic except by mass working class independent political action? This is something CORE and the ISO dread and worked overtime to prevent in a bourgeois presidential election year.

The entire nation had their eyes on Chicago as the fight for education is and has been in the forefront of the fight against the capitalist rulers imposition of austerity. Unlike the populist Occupy movement which found its base in the youth, the precariously employed, students and activists, while receiving only minimal, half-hearted and transitory support from the unions, the fight parents and teachers across the country

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## EDITORIAL

Belatedly, but like the tortoise that wins the race, the rise of the class struggle against the austerity “solution” to the systemic crisis of the capitalist system has spread to every continent. As we write we hear the report of the meeting of the International Monetary Fund that says despite many stimulus and banking reform measures the world financial system has become more dangerously fragile in the last six months. Ominously, China is boycotting this meeting because it is being held in Tokyo. But even without their participation it is becoming plain to every worker, organized or not, working or unemployed, that the bankers expect to take the cost of their crisis out of us, out of our lives and the lives of those we love. At last, five years into a crisis that now sees business contracting everywhere, sometimes relatively but also contracting absolutely so that we say the world economy is shrinking--- at last we see workers refusing to take what “austerity” means anymore.

No failure to increase productivity can possibly be blamed for the smashup of the Capital circulatory system. Capitalism itself was the cause of a natural periodic crisis of overproduction of Capital in a world market saturated with paper values after failing for a decade to find sufficient profitable investment in tangible, useful production. Neither can the Low-Doc and No-Doc loans that went bad in the U.S., which only came to \$2.3 trillion(!) be blamed for a world crisis originating in part in falsifications of entire national debts, as Goldman-Sachs did for the Greek government. The ‘welfare state’ costs of subsistence support to the unemployed, so out of fashion now among those fed by servants, actually plays an important part in the consumer side of the circulation of commodities, particularly food and use-values. False ideas about this hang on, but repeating them gets personal fast as almost every family has an unemployed member now.

Increasingly, the bourgeoisie looks longingly at war as their way out. To prepare for this they ramp up national chauvinism and even fascism, so that you will be tricked into feeding your kids into the war meat grinder. In this issue we expose the sudden rise in state anti-Roma attacks in France and relate it to the role of immigrant-bashing in war preparation and continuing bourgeois rule.

In some places the rise of class struggle means an “Arab Spring,” a resumption of the Arab national revolution, something that threatens every autocrat everywhere (even Putin!), although quite a number of sectarians worldwide deny its very existence. We would stand alone if necessary in solidarity with the revolutionary left of Syria, not least of all because the singular problem of our epoch, the crisis of proletarian leadership, is theirs to solve right now.

The whole false content of bourgeois class consciousness, of ideas of the social role of Capital are being exposed for their barbarity, causing a crisis of government in every direction you’d care to look. And right now the “labor lieutenants of capital,” the recognized, official misleaders of the labor movement on every continent, are scrambling to find ways to maintain the legitimacy of class rule in the minds of memberships that just at this moment still support them, but already less and less. COSATU leaders are implicated in the police murders of the Marikana miners. This remarkable development was brought to the workers of the world by

## Beware Falling BRICS: South Africa and China

Statement of the LCC

*The Marikana Massacre has exposed the reactionary African National Congress (ANC) regime as a client state of imperialism. The ANC is attempting to head off a growing mass uprising of workers by building a new ‘strategic partnership’ with China in the hope that this will produce ‘win-win’ deals to allow the country to develop its economy and reap the wealth produced. China, however, is no savior as it is no different than the former colonial exploiters. As an emerging imperialist per its interest is in the super-exploitation of South African workers. The global crisis is creating a militant opposition to the rule of capitalist imperialism everywhere. In South Africa, as elsewhere, for workers to live they will have to unite to overthrow capitalism. Forward to the South African Revolution!*

### Marikana – A South African Spring?

What is behind the Marikana Massacre? Is it a re-opening of the democratic revolution that has the potential for permanent revolution similar to that of the Arab Spring? Why does the national democratic revolution need re-opening? In 1952 the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) joined forces to lead the national democratic revolution to power. The ANC adopted its program on national development, the Freedom Charter, from the Stalinist SACP which held that SA must go through a bourgeois stage of capitalist development to create the pre-conditions for socialism.

We trace this Stalinist theory of stages to the Menshevik position in Russia, which Stalin reverted to in 1923. The democratic revolution would empower the working class to nationalize the means of production to speed up the transition to socialism. This would be possible if the bourgeois state was under the control of the ANC, representing the Black majority working class. The Freedom Charter written in 1955 made ‘nationalization’ of the mines central to its program of national development. Thus ‘nationalization’ meant ownership by the bourgeois state ‘governed’ by the ANC, not the social ownership of the working class in a socialist workers’ state. The working people would delegate this task to the ANC and not have direct control over its implementation.

When the ANC came to power in 1994 the SACP program of ‘nationalization’ was already realized in the Soviet Union by its return to state capitalism. The Stalinist policy of Perestroika and Glasnost had opened the road to the restoration of the capitalist market. Yeltsin in 1992 defeated any resistance to capitalist restoration, forcing state property to be privatized or the remaining State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) to be subject to the law of value in the global capitalist market. This translated globally as a retreat from not only workers property, but from bourgeois ‘nationalization’, to the ‘mixed economy’ dressed up sometimes as ‘market socialism’. So by 1994 the Stalinist world was already rejecting ‘nationalization’ as the preferred road to socialism. Thus the bourgeois national revolution in SA was deformed at birth as part of a historic defeat of the world working class that brought the downfall of the degenerate workers states including the Soviet Union, destroying workers property, the main gain of the October 1917 Revolution.

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## WAL-MART WORKERS ORGANIZE

willing to fight back against the austerity! Already Korean and American workers jointly exploited by Wal-Mart have pledged to join forces in an important application of the principle "Workers of the World Unite!"

This organizing drive, coming in the wake of the Chicago teachers strike, signals the opening of a counter offensive by the working class against the bosses' union-busting and austerity. The bosses' cronies, the Democrats, Republicans, Social Democrats/Labor Party's and the Tories alike, work overtime to destroy workers organizations and impose austerity, but they did not count on the Wal-Mart workers fighting back! Wal-Mart abuses its workforce enforcing short hours to avoid insurance requirements, driving many into poverty and onto public assistance, despite "providing a job." The Warehouseman were protesting against excessive heat, lack of water, and basic worker safety we should all take for granted.

Long overdue is a drive to organize the unorganized. The entrenched union officials of the AFL-CIO and SEIU have traded their responsibility to organize the working class for a seat under the table of the Capitalist Democratic Party banquet. They have the resources to make this organizing drive a great victory for labor but today they put all their efforts to licking the boots that kick us.

This organizing drive can be turned into an offensive by the entire working class to defeat the bosses and their austerity if we use it to Agitate, Educate and Organize to break from the labor leaders who tie our organizations to the capitalist Democratic Party and to build our own fighting labor/workers party to fight for a workers government.

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## CHICAGO TEACHERS STRIKE

are waging receives only local media coverage. Tens of thousands of angry parents, teachers and students have been attending thousands of school board meetings held in districts across the country to confront the school boards and the overpaid administrative lackeys of the ruling class. Their job has been to impose standardized testing as the teaching model, eliminating critical thinking (Bush's "No child's brain

left alive.") standardize testing as quality control of teachers (Obama's "Race for the slop,") increased class sizes, closing of "under-performing" schools, privatization in the form of for-profit charters, the replacement of the professional credentialled and unionized teachers with scab "Teach for America" workers whose youthful exuberance and excitement at getting a job quickly fades as the false promise that they could make a difference is exposed by the reality they face in the under-funded and failing school systems across the nation. But the nation's parents, separated by ten thousand districts and hundreds of thousands of schools, are not an organized force with social weight that can be easily mobilized for impact. The minimal options allotted to parents: pass a school bond or not, raise money for the PTA classroom enhancement drives, donate

time to the youth program of your choice, abandon public schools for the charter schools,--none of these cut to the root of the problem. Indeed, atomized as they are, the parents' social weight and viewpoint is often misrepresented by the media pundits who pit the parents/students against the "greedy teachers."

But this time in Chicago the parents were not buying it! Despite the hardship, tens of thousands of working class parents supported the strike with great hope that the organized strength of the teachers union would give their concerns for their children's education a voice. The parents know well that the school board and administrators are overpaid lackeys (earning six figures) doing the bidding of the ruling class whose stated intention is to destroy public education and turn our children and their schools into commodities and profit centers for investors in the Bill Gates/Arne Duncan vision of schools without unionized teachers.

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The capitalists, while ignorant, elitist and as condescending as Romney's 47% blunder indicates, are driven to impose austerities and privatize education by the decay of capitalism and slow demise of the American Empire. To offset the declining rate of profit they must undercut the social wage, through the destruction of social programs which do not directly profit the capitalists. Public education, defined pensions, public health, worker safety and environmental standards are in the cross-hairs and any unions or organizations which stand in the way of their "rationalization" of the econ-



(Mass Rally of Teachers and supporters)

omy will find themselves attacked by the media, harassed by the State and the political and economic power of the billionaires.

In the epoch of the decay of capitalism, the over-production of fictitious capital competing for ever-diminishing returns provides no incentive to employ the growing "surplus population." American workers are coming to understand that the same "free market" pressure that drives Lonmin, Debeers and Anglo-American to super-exploit and murder the miners in South Africa are the same concrete material forces which drive Apple and Dell to super-exploit young workers living in slave-like conditions at the Foxconn factory in China, and that the crisis of capital has created the necessity for the ruling class to impose austerity and commodify everything--all in order to offset the declining rate of profit. Under these conditions, where the

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the social relations of the mode of production act to limit the productive capacity of the working class, those social relations are no longer sustainable except by means of repression, hence the “education reform” and the “school-to-prison pipeline.”

**The strength of the CTU strike was that the fight was not for wages alone but aimed its fire at the ongoing privatization process. Fighting school closures, inadequate class room temperature controls, increased class sizes, lengthened school days, test-based “quality control,” the encroachment of charters, and the continued denial and de-funding of arts, music, physical education etc., this fight is exactly what the working class parents were happy to support.** Parents needed the teachers union to step forward in defense of our children and when they did the parents responded in solidarity, joining the picket lines, bringing lunches to the picketers, organizing youth support and putting enormous pressure on the ruling class, whose intention it was to drive a wedge between the teachers and the parents.

### **CTU Leadership Snatches Defeat From the Jaws of Victory**

What the broader American working class support base for the Chicago teachers does not know is the lengths the reformist Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE) leadership went to try to frustrate the CTU membership’s desire to fight the capitalists’ “reform plans.” The CORE was a union reform caucus organized against the sellout and corrupt regime of United Progressive Caucus (UPC) led by Marilyn Stewart. CORE won the 2010 CTU elections based on a vague program of taking a more militant and grassroots stance against the attacks on education. The membership of CORE includes sympathizers of the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the ostensible revolutionary socialist Solidarity group. Right after the CTU 2010 election, Chicago Public Schools (CPS) laid off 2000 teachers based on principal performance evaluations and not seniority. Instead of trying to mobilize the ranks at that time for a real fight, the CORE leadership under Karen Lewis filed an injunction in Federal court on procedural grounds, not even opposing layoffs on principle. A judge ruled in favor of the injunction and imposed recall in hiring, but over 1300 teachers were still left without work.

Then in April 2011 we saw Karen Lewis championing SB 7. This law unduly narrowed the legal basis of labor action and required a 75% yes vote for any strike authorization by civil servants. SB 7 trashed a number of teachers seniority rights and otherwise attacked their long understood and legal collective bargaining provisos. In this dirty business Lewis had a number of accomplices on the so-called left.

Lewis’ right hand, her vice president Jesse Sharkey of the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which traces its political lineage through Tony Cliff back to Max Schachtman. In the weeks after the passage of SB 7 when its contents and consequences were understood and when a Wisconsin style mobilization could have repudiated the law, Sharkey did and said nothing. The ISO with hundreds of members in Chicago did nothing and further covered up Lewis’ support for the anti labor measure. Karen Lewis, you understand, is a Democrat, a card carrying member of the bosses’ party. As we have seen the ISO do previously in the San Francisco Labor Council and the California AFL-CIO State Federation the ISO supports the anti-labor tactics of the Democratic Party and makes them possible. The ISO believes the CTU has legislator allies who must be supported and must not be left high and dry by any reversal of the CTU leadership’s support for SB 7. Subsequently the rank and file had other plans and 95% voted for the strike authorization and the Obama/Emanuel ploy fell on its face in front of massive union solidarity.

After ten months of negotiations the membership was not worn down and still rejected the capitalist education plan. In this respect this is a political strike and Emanuel’s injunction plot was always possible even without the special provisions of SB 7 under Taft Hartley.

Our class enemies are not geniuses. They picked the wrong city and the wrong time and the wrong workers to start this fight with. As the strike progressed the ruling class desperation was exposed. George Schmidt of the Chicago Substance News puts it this way, “Whether the unraveled is Vitale on camera, Emanuel fulminating behind the scenes...or Brizard quietly collecting his enormous pay while being told

to sit down and shut up off stage the sight is not pretty.” (*David Vitale, president of Chicago board of education, Rham Emanuel is mayor of Chicago and Jean-Claude Brizard the recently fired CEO of the Chicago Public School system.*) The fate of the phony education “reform” drive ushered in by Bush/Obama/Gates/Buffet and their hit man Duncan, with all the potential profit for investors in privatization, hung in the balance.

Beneath the din of the pundits and politicians’ empty platitudes evoking sympathy for the struggling parent and students effected by the strike is their terror that the ruling class plan is being exposed and rejected by the teachers, the working class and the oppressed minorities! **In Chicago, where 86% of the students are “minorities,” the working class parents know damn well that closing schools, overcrowding classrooms, driving out qualified teachers, and “teaching to the test” is part of the school-to-prison pipeline intended for the millions of youth that capitalism neither needs to educate nor intends to employ.** The teachers have won the battle for support of working class parents and of Occupy Chicago. What they have not overcome is the reformist leadership of the CTU and the labor movement, which is entrenched in the bosses’ Democratic Party, which demands they demobilize the teachers and prevent this movement from spreading.

### **Way forward**

As Leon Trotsky stated in his work Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay (1940):

*In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of peoples and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the*

*(cont.pg .5)*

*the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.”*

The labor movement in the United States has a whole history of reform union movements based on vague programs for “union democracy,” against sellouts, fighting a corrupt leadership and/or based on simple trade union militancy. They have all failed the test of leadership and have become the class-collaborationist union bureaucrats they were fighting against. The working class will continue to face defeat under the union bureaucracy. In order to win victories we need to throw up a new generation of worker militants that understand that there is absolutely no reconciliation between Labor and Capital. Rank-and-file union caucuses need to be formed on the basis of a class struggle program of transitional demands so as to create a fighting union leadership that would drive the bureaucrats from union office. Such caucuses would seek to educate, unite, organize and mobilize the workers against austerity and all attacks on workers and the broader society. These caucuses would stand for the absolute independence of the labor movement from all capitalist parties, be they Democrat, Republican, or Green, Conservative, Liberal or Independent. Such caucuses could be a springboard for building a fighting workers’ labor party to fight for a workers’ government.

DEFEND THE TEACHERS UNION  
DEFY ALL INJUNCTIONS!  
DEFEAT SB 7!  
SMASH TAFT HARTLEY!

MOBILIZE A WORKING CLASS OFFENSIVE TO DEFEND CHICAGO’S STUDENTS, PARENTS, TEACHERS, SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORHOODS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST WAR ON THE WORKING CLASS!

STOP SCHOOL CLOSURES AND PRIVATIZATION!

FOR WORKING CLASS EDUCATION!  
DEFEND PUBLIC EDUCATION!  
FOR FREE QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL FROM PRE-SCHOOL THROUGH GRADUATE SCHOOL. ESTABLISH STUDENT STIPENDS, FOOD AND HOUSING AS A SOCIAL GUARANTEE.

FOR TEACHER/STUDENT/WORKER/PARENT CONTROL OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES! OCCUPY THE SCHOOLS!

NATIONALIZE ALL PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND CHARTERS! SOCIALIZE THE BIG EDUCATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP FOUNDATIONS AND ENDOWMENTS!

LIMIT CLASS SIZES! FOR A MASSIVE PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM TO BUILD SAFE HEALTHY FACILITIES.

FREE THE STUDENTS FROM THE REGENCY OF CLASS MISLEDUCATION, CURRICULUM OF MYSTIFICATION AND OPPRESSION!

FOR LIBERAL ARTS AND ATHLETIC EDUCATION WITH ADEQUATE TEACHING MATERIALS AND FACILITIES! TEACH WORKING CLASS HISTORY! TEACH THE HISTORY OF THE OPPRESSED!

DRIVE OUT THE LABOR FAKERS!  
BUILD CLASS-STRUGGLE CAUCUSES IN THE UNIONS AND FORGE A FIGHTING UNION LEADERSHIP!

(Statement distributed during the final days of the strike by the CWG)

### **POLITICAL STRIKE A TURNING POINT FOR WORKING CLASS**

The heroic Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) strike was one of the more dynamic labor struggles in years. It was well understood by the working class and the oppressed masses as a struggle against attacks on public education. This strike was more than just about simple union contract demands, but was a political strike against Democratic Party mayor Rahm Emanuel and the bipartisan capitalist assault on public education and public sector unions. It says a lot that the CTU voted overwhelmingly to strike in the first place given the anti-union SB 7 bill (supported by CORE member and CTU President Karen Lewis) signed into law in June 2011 which requires a 75% majority to authorize a strike. Unfortunately the power of the working class was throttled by the craven sellout CTU leadership, grouped around the CORE reform union caucus, who successfully pushed through a vote to end the strike and accept a concessionary contract. The strike was ended on September 18th, one day before a judge would rule on a court injunction sought by Democratic Mayor Emanuel. The fact

of this political strike was a victory against President of the UFT/AFT Randi Weingarten’s supine contract settlement with the Washington D.C. school system. But this premature work resumption was a defeat in that it was a sellout to the template of the class-collaborators par excellence of the World Social Forum, who everywhere championed capitalism in place of political retaliation against capital and its austerity program. In the U.S. it is the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who are the standard bearers of the WSF. All narrow trade-unionist victories in this contract will mean nothing if your school is closed. The ISO argued that school closings could be discussed later---after the outstanding public support and the Teachers militant picket lines were history!!

The dynamic strike was solid and was at the point where it should have been intensified and extended as a nation-wide fight for free, quality education and a fight against all of the attacks on the working class and the oppressed. Instead the CTU leadership demobilized working class power and sold a lousy bill of goods to the membership. This strike, had it been pushed to its limit, could have galvanized the working class, much like the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, the San Francisco General strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite strike did in giving birth to the great CIO industrial organizing drives. Ironically the ISO who has supporters among the CTU/CORE leadership had the gall to state before the vote to end the strike that “not the media, not a judge, and certainly not Rahm Emanuel--will decide if their walkout will end” (Socialist Worker, September 18). Certainly a true statement, because it was the treacherous CTU bureaucrats, among them ISO and Solidarity supporters, who worked overtime to make sure the strike was going to come to an end.

Rather than a victory for quality education, the settlement does little to roll back the Democratic and Republican parties attacks on public education. That is not to say that nothing was won. There was contract language against bullying, for textbooks on the first day of school, against merit pay and they did preserve salary steps and lanes. But there were major concessions on layoffs and recall which is hardly insignificant in the face of threats by Emanuel

(Political Strikes cont. from pg 5)

and the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) to close the rest of the 100 plus schools. The layoff language has changed from the previous contract by seniority, to one based on ratings, probationary status and tenure. Conceding long held seniority rights that are at the heart of union protection in education employment. Thirty percent of the teacher evaluations will be based on student test scores. Pay raises were won, but will not even meet the inflation rate. The actual raises, 3%, 2%, 3% (+4% if CTU extends a fourth year,) give the lie to the fiction of the 17% pay increase. Class sizes were also not reduced and there is no effective mechanism for the union to enforce the limits currently in place, which are continuously violated.

Now mayor Emanuel is appearing in a TV ad created by Education Reform Now Advocacy playing up the contract. This group is an anti-union affiliate of Democrats for Education Reform, a political action committee seeded with New York hedge-fund money. It certainly was very convenient for both Emanuel and Obama for the strike to have ended seven weeks before the election. The Democratic Party pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats sell the workers down the river in order to preserve their privileges that derive from their relationship with their Democratic allies from Soros to Buffet, Gates and Rockefeller. And the WSF inspired fake-socialists enable them.

The ISO stated that the “next phase of the struggle will revolve around the looming threat of the school closures” (Socialist Worker, September 18). This is ludicrous. If the CORE leadership was not willing to fight school closings and privatizations when they had a solid, legal mass strike and mass support, then they sure as hell are not going to do it in the “next phase.” The time to fight was when the strike was strong and the workers were mobilized. Unfortunately in the hands of pro-capitalist or reformist leadership, most of these labor struggles will either be defeated or barely-won. We need to build a new class struggle leadership in the unions to replace these “labor lieutenants of capital.” The labor movement needs a leadership that stands for the absolute political independence of the workers from all capitalist parties, that will defy court injunctions and that recognizes that what is

needed is to organize the workers for an irreconcilable struggle against capitalism.

(Editorial cont. from pg 2)

the popular front government, that beloved of Stalinism everywhere. This popular front idea is taking a beating too.

So the leadership of the UFCW has come running this week to catch up with the strike movement closing in on the cut-throat Wal-Mart chain, purportedly the largest employer in the U.S. (we thought the government was, but in 1980 Jimmy Carter said the troops are not employed!) Previously the position of the AFL-CIO was to try to keep Wal-Mart out of selected cities, like N.Y. This was effective but ridiculous. The one way to win an Employee Free Choice Act that is not another shackle is by winning mass organizing drives!

No one learned how to win one of these in any labor college anointed by the bourgeoisie! On to “Black Friday!” Buy nothing, bring your neighbors and walk on your WAL-MART picket line! This will be an insufficient start, but a start. Go to your Local Union meeting and demand that your Union support the WAL-MART strikers. Begin to sort out the ‘leaders’ who don’t want to by forming class struggle caucuses to “catch them in the crossfire” between what we need and the bosses’ favors, bribes and lawmakers.

A nationwide strike to organize WAL-MART could provide the path to a genuine general strike against austerity, against the rise of racist police and vigilante murders and against the drive to inter-imperialist war. On our front page we look at the Chicago Teachers strike and contemplate what could have been. This was an actual political strike, arguably the first since the Taft-Hartley Act (1948), but it was diverted into a purely “economist” deal by reform-only model fake socialists in league with Democrats and other regime shills. Historically, these are forces who do nothing to prevent and are helpless facing the prospect of world war.

We need a general strike movement, here and internationally. Among other reasons, such a movement can be understood as a pathway to bringing down and finishing off the wages system, a path to the Social

ist revolution and the exclusive political power of the workers and their oppressed allies. Part of the role of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” we champion is exploding the mysteries of the commodity and the robberies of the worker they conceal. The elimination of the monopolist-imperialist private profits and super-profits system will mean that an increasing number of the necessities of life will become free, and it will be the early job of the workers’ state to see that you have them as a matter of right (or you’ll immediately elect new delegates who’ll see to it!)

But right now in some countries the general strike will immediately change the relationship of forces in the masses’ favor, particularly if successful organization of the rank-and-file armed forces into workers councils can be achieved. Right away the question which class will rule will be posed. If the masses have at their head the most concentrated expression of their revolutionary class political consciousness, an international workers party on the Bolshevik model, all the barbarities Capital threatens us with--fascism, war, environmental and species holocausts and suppressions of every right-- can at last be swept away for good.

**Forward to the World Party of Socialist Revolution!**

**Victory to the Syrian revolution! Solidarity with the Syrian revolutionary left!**

**For the Permanent Revolution!  
Victory to the Greek Revolution!**

**Smash fascism in the egg!**

**For workers councils and their own workers self-defense militias!**

**General Strike until austerity is defeated!**

**For a Workers Government of Workers Councils!**

**Victory to the Southern African Workers’ revolution! For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa! Down with the ANC and the entire Stalinist popular front project, the gendarme of imperialism!**

*We wish to thank the Groupe Bolchevique (France) and the editors of their magazine “Revolution Socialiste.” With their permission we reached freely into RS #33, fall 2010, and we would urge readers of French to see the upcoming issue for more on the state’s attacks on the Roma. We look forward to fruitful exchanges with “Revolution Socialiste.” We’ll also extend especial thanks here to our Liaison Committee comrades at “Redrave” (Aotearoa/New Zealand) and “Revolutionary Worker” (Zimbabwe) for their contributions of material, time and thinking to the publication of this “Class War” number. We are gratified at how they illuminate our world view!*

(cont. from pg. 1 column 1)

the Roma by calling for “a national dialogue” about what to do about the Roma(!) Of course there is already a national dialogue and the fascists are driving it—driving it and driving the frightened bogus left to the right! They turn their backs on the Roma today and will turn their backs on the Muslim populations tomorrow. This collapse in front of bourgeois spin and hysteria serves to undermine proletarian-working class-solidarity consciousness, dividing the workers, allowing the bosses to drive down wages, by pitting one group of workers against another, thereby increasing the rate of exploitation and rolling back social gains.

**We say the workers have no fatherland!**

The social democrats and Hollande hired on knowingly to do the dirty work of the bourgeoisie, attacking the working class at home and abroad while defending French Imperialism and the NATO alliance. In a September 9th prime-time interview on television, Hollande defended the raids and evictions of the Roma. He also committed to deepening austerity measures and attacks on the working class such as deficit cuts and short-time work legislation which would allow businesses to arbitrarily choose how many hours to employ their workers. While Hollande wages war on the French working class and the Roma, he has also taken up the role of point man for Western imperialism as it toys with the idea of conducting a military intervention in Syria to limit the outcome of the revolutionary upheaval to a shuffle of reliable servants at the top.

Hollande badly needs issues to distract the electorate from the rising unemployment and increasing pace of contraction of the French and all European economies. This is not a uniquely European problem.

When fewer Europeans work and spend, China's exports suffer, as do Japan's, amplifying effects of the world capitalist crisis, which has not gone away. Already the bill for the touted fix of the summer, involving a bailout-by-any-other-name for Spain and the floating of Eurobonds to keep the borrowing costs of the bourgeois states from floating up into outer space, has been presented to the masses. They are outraged and right back on the streets in great numbers, but are missing a proletarian revolutionary leadership, the great lack of our epoch. By the time you read

this, Hollande will have unveiled his austerity plans in detail. We think the labor lieutenants of capital will have their hands full keeping the masses under control.

In China and Japan, a dispute over some insignificant islets—really about the local sea floor and the possible wealth underneath—serves to buffalo the masses of these nations at a time when any blundering military incident could erupt into war. Just at the moment in late

September, it appears that the Chinese leadership has “blinked,” i.e., recalculated and decided for at least a temporary retreat. But war, with its destruction of capitals

and enormous expenditures of treasury, already looks attractive to sections of the U.S. and Chinese capitalist classes, and we now think to members of the Japanese bourgeoisie as well. War danger meanwhile is a time-tested pretext for enforcing sacrifices upon the workers. Reject the war poison and the leaders and the class who promote it! Work now to take ALL power from them, once and for all! Learn to pick out—and KICK OUT—“labor leaders” whose career is all about keeping you down! When you do this in your union you help all of us everywhere.

Lenin in Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916) analyzed the material bases rooted in imperialism for the class-collaboration, racism, nationalism and chauvinism of the social democratic reformists: *Obviously, out of such enormous super-profits (since they are obtained over and above the profits which capitalists squeeze out of the workers of their "own" country) it is possible to bribe the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy. And that is just what the capitalists of the "advanced" countries are doing: they are bribing them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert. This stratum of workers-turned-bourgeois,*

*or the labour aristocracy, who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is the principal prop of the Second International, and in our days, the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie. For they are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, real vehicles of reformism and chauvinism. In the civil war between the proletariat and the*



Roma evicted from Villeneuve d'Ascq in early August, 2012 - Reuters

bourgeoisie they inevitably, and in no small numbers, take the side of the bourgeoisie, the "Versaillese" against the "Communards".

The New Anti-capitalist Party (NPA) and the Left Front (Stalinists and the Left Party (PG)) uncritically supported Hollande in the second round of the French Elections. During the raids on the Roma this past August, the Stalinist French Communist Party (PCF) mayor of Stains in the Seine-Saint-Denis department said: ‘It raises problems of hygiene, law-and-order, etc.’ He wrote to François Hollande “to inform him of the problem.” Spoken like a municipal socialist of the Jean Jaurès tradition, this is how deeply the Stalinists and the social layer they represent have imbibed racism and abandoned internationalism. This explains the half-hearted defense of the Roma by the PCF officialdom. Rather than using the organized weight of the CGT and the trade union movement to organize labor self defense of the Roma people from attack they make abstract calls for increased public housing which will be forgotten before the latest issue of l’Humanité is used for lining bird cages. Communist mayors think first of the law and order solutions instead of the

economic and social solution. This is the reactionary, traitorous nature of the leadership of the French working class.

### History of Romani

The Roma were a nomadic people who are thought to have migrated from North-West India at the beginning of the 11th Century. They then spread across Europe. The largest community is in Romania with perhaps two million. In Hungary they are estimated to be 5-10% of the population. Historically they have faced persecution and discrimination. Today they lack access to government services and health care, good-quality housing and schools, and suffer from high rates of unemployment and discrimination on the labor market.

Under the EU (European Union) the Roma are considered citizens. French law though requires them to have a work permit and prove they have the means to support themselves if they stay for more than three months.

Like Jews, Slavs, Poles, Soviet POW's, communists, socialists, labor leaders, homosexuals, the disabled and religious groups, the Roma were targeted by the Nazis during World War II. Deported to concentration camps, subject to horrifying medical experiments and also sterilized, an estimated 250,000 to 500,000 plus Romani were murdered by the Nazis. The fascist Croatian Ustaša also carried out genocide against the Romani during World War II. The Vichy regime was no friend of the Roma. The Gaullist liberators scarcely liked them any better, reinstating 3rd Republic racist laws and collaborator police, and the 5th Republic has carried on indistinguishably, even as it talks rubbish about "social solidarity."



*Nazi police round up Romani families from Vienna for deportation to Poland. Austria, September-December 1939.*

### Capitalism breeds racism, fascism, poverty and war

The organized attack by the French capitalist state goes hand-in-hand with the racist attacks on Roma and immigrants.

As capitalism reels from the current crisis, right-wing and fascist organizations are on the rise. The big bourgeoisie looks at social democracy and sees that it is increasingly unable to demobilize and contain or check the rage of the worker masses. So it finds sluices of funds for fascist groups with plans to use them tomorrow to smash labor militancy. The corporatists of the American Legislative Exchange Council (A.L.E.C.) correspond socially to the European big money backers of fascism.

The brazen Golden Dawn misogynist/fascists in Greece and the anti-Muslim socio-path Breivik in Norway are fun-house foreshadows of what is in store, and not just for those who can be classed as different or other. The ruling coalition and new parliament are barely functional, the breakdown of civil society that accompanies their attempt to impose the "troika's" austerity is leading to chaos. The working class, lacking a revolutionary party, has not created the structures for workers democracy and working class control of the society to answer the power vacuum.

The Golden Dawn, which received half the police votes, is stepping into the vacuum, providing food and "protection" to the population providing they are Greek nationals-not "outsiders"-Turks, Romani, Albanian, Bosnian etc. Reports that these fascists scum have beaten student activists to death are what they have in store as the crisis drives the polarization and the left is yet to offer the solution of creating the workers' state.

In Hungary, the right-wing government led by Prime Minister Victor Orban, which works closely together with the neo-fascist Jobbik party, is deliberately provoking such attacks in order to divert attention away from the country's huge economic and social problems. On August 20 members of the paramilitary Hungarian Guard marched against Roma families in the city of Cegled, southeast of the capital, Budapest.

In June in crisis-racked Greece, the cops harassed the Roma neighborhood of Ano Liosia at the same time as the fascist Golden Dawn rallied nearby. The fascist Golden Dawn in turn increased its polling from 3% to 7% and polled more than half the vote of the police.

In Germany the first week of September, a Turkish association was attacked with a Molotov cocktail and an arson attempt was made on Religious Affairs Turkish Islamic Mosque in Darmstadt.

Ominously, Marine Le Pen (daughter of fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen,) of the right-wing National Front (FN) garnered 6.4 million votes in the first round of the recent French election and came in third. The racist FN targets Muslims and immigrants, and has kept up links with violent street fighting groups.

At the same time in the declining imperialist center that is the United States, the Democratic Party administration of Obama has carried out more deportations of immigrants than the preceding Bush administration, while the racist cops gun down Black and Brown youth at the rate of one every 32 hours.

Despite the fact that many industries depend on low-paid immigrants and businesses like agriculture and meat packing benefit greatly from immigrant labor, under the Bush regime, in a well-publicized ICE raid on Long Island, traumatized children watched their parents being man-handled by heavily armed agents and in one case, a baby was left unattended for more than an hour after their parents were arrested. Continuing the Bush tradition, in April, 2009 and again last year, Obama's immigration enforcement deported nearly 400,000 undocumented immigrants, the most in the agency's history. Raids have resulted in children arriving home from school to find no parents to take care of them.

And while the Feds wage attacks on immigrants, several states have enacted or tried to enact anti-immigrant legislation in the wake of the Supreme Court's upholding of Arizona's notorious immigration enforcement laws (SB 1070 and HB 2162). Alabama outdid Arizona in 2011 by passing HB56 which is considered the toughest immigration law in the United States. Its provisions deter children from going to school, deny people public benefits and the ability to rent housing or earn a living, along with a range of new immigration-related offenses with draconian penalties attached. It also involves racial profiling where state and local police

officers can detain and investigate people based on a “suspicion” that they may be undocumented immigrants. In effect this is a throwback to the days of *De jure* segregation of George “Segregation Forever” Wallace’s Alabama. In 2012, the Alabama law was revised and made even harsher. Many of these state laws have been slightly revised by the bourgeois courts as American capitalism needs to keep up a democratic façade.

In Obama’s “Hope and Change” America, fascistic armed border militias and Minutemen patrol the US-Mexico border while the KKK has increasingly focused on attacking immigrants. In 2010, Obama signed a \$600 million bill further militarizing the border, including deploying drones.

This last summer as election season rolled around, Obama cynically tried to court the Latino vote by pledging not to deport some undocumented immigrants who had arrived in the United States as children. This insulting ploy mandates that undocumented persons who want to use the program self report without a guarantee that they will not be deported. If the Democrats have the appearance of being progressive at all it is only because it is measured up against the racist, right-wing Republican Party of Romney/Ryan. Ryan for his part may as well have eaten a bowl of jalapeños. In seeking the Latino vote he promised not to deport 12 million, but said that they could count on him to keep up the deportations.

Anti-immigrant, along with anti-Black racism, is the spearhead of social reaction in America. The defense of immigrant, along with Black and Brown rights is crucial for the American working class. The working class in America will be incapable of uniting and making significant gains unless they come to the defense of immigrants. Karl Marx wrote of chattel slavery “Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded”. This quote could be applied metaphorically to Black oppression as well as immigrants today. The well-known La Migra raid at Agri-processors kosher meatpacking plant in Postville, Iowa in 2008, where 389 workers were arrested, resulted in disrupting a United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) organizing drive. The UFCW had filed a lawsuit in 2007 against ICE

following raids at five Swift meatpacking plants. At Pomona College in California, longtime food service workers were fired after the college required their documents be checked...during a union organizing drive. The pattern is unmistakable. It is the class enemy’s policy.

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***Socialist” Party French President Hollande unleashes the police against the Roma! Democratic Party USA President Obama panders to Latinos for votes after deporting 396K undocumented persons last year!***

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In mid September, Latino warehouse workers at the Wal-Mart distribution center in Ontario, CA launched an organizing drive with a 50 mile march to LA. We urge our readers to stand with them. The face of labor in America is increasingly black and brown. For labor to win it must unite across the color lines and utilize its organizational resources in defense of the immigrant and undocumented workers. It is no surprise that despite the lack of any quantity of voter fraud based on identity documentation, the right wing has made voter ID an issue allowing the systematic disenfranchisement of thousands, possibly millions of elderly, poor, and marginalized people.

From Europe to America hands off immigrant workers, hands off the Roma, hands off the undocumented! For working-class defense of the Roma and all immigrants! Workers in the imperialist countries, your main enemy is your national bourgeoisie! From the USA across Europe and to China and Japan: Down with national chauvinism and jingoism, the political pimps of inter-imperialist wars!

**A fighting workers movement would adopt a program to organize immigrant workers and ...**

- **Workers defense guards and to mobilize its ranks to defend the Roma camps in France and stop the deportations.**
- **Political strikes on an international scale should be organized against these attacks on the Roma and immigrants.**
- **It was ILWU 10 (Longshoremen) in the Bay Area in the United States that organized a work stoppage in protest of the Racist cop murder of Black youth Oscar**

**Grant. We need these type of working class defense actions on a world scale.**

- **In the United States, labor led self-defense guards need to be mobilized to stop ICE/La Migra raids and deportations that have been stepped up under the Obama administration.**
- **Workers defense guards in the United States would also clear out the fascistic racist, anti-immigrant rabble that patrol the border with Mexico.**
- **These same organized defense guards can also be mobilized to defend picket lines and the Black, Brown and immigrant communities against the fascists and the racist cops.**
- **One contract across borders. Fight for one contract with the same pay and benefits across borders.**
- **Demand immediate, full citizenship rights for the Roma, all immigrants, all undocumented. No person is illegal.**
- **For free housing and free quality education and healthcare for all.**
- **Jobs for all thirty hours work fifty hours pay.**
- **Enforce a sliding scale of wages and prices.**

**The workers have no fatherlands! Down with national chauvinism and jingoism, the pimps of wars for private profit!**

**No to imperialist wars! Organize military enlisted ranks in unions! Organize enlisted service-persons’ councils and elect leaders from the ranks. Close all overseas bases. Publish all secrets and secret treaties. Free Bradley Manning!**

**The working classes’ historic and internationalist program, implemented by a workers government based on workers self-organization through their own action committees, work-site committees, councils and assemblies, cannot be won without the coordination and leadership of revolutionary and internationalist workers parties, uniting the fight against capitalism and for socialist revolution in each country .**

**These parties need to be united in a new revolutionary Workers’ International as the world party of socialist revolution! Workers of the world unite! Abolish the wage system!**

In coming to power in 1994 the ANC juked the Freedom Charter for a developmental state model of 'market socialism' where the state regulates the market to meet the goals of 'socialism'. It wasn't until 2002 that it succeeded in overcoming resistance to the nationalization of mineral resources in the ground. Today the ANC leadership still rules out nationalization of the mining companies assets as too costly and politically destabilizing. It says the nationalization of the assets of listed mining corporations would cost \$1 Trillion and bankrupt the country leaving it at the mercy of a Structural Adjustment Program. It therefore continues to opt for a range of taxes, royalties and other 'value-sharing' measures to implement its particular brand of 'national development'.



Zuma looking for "win-win" deals from China Reuters photo

### Has the national revolution created the pre-conditions for socialism?

The ANC/SACP policy of the bourgeois national revolution is one of using the state to redistribute surplus value towards the gradual social ownership of the means of production. Imperialism is understood as based on unequal exchange where normal profits (surplus-value) are inflated into super profits by extracting 'super-value'. The two main mechanisms are using a reserve army to force de-value wages below the level of reproduction, and undervaluing the price of the commodities produced and exported via transfer pricing. This means that on top of normal capitalist profits (surplus value), imperialist corporations 'steal' super-profits (super-value). The ANC/SACP policy is that the national revolution 'empowers' workers governments to tax or regulate imperialism to reduce or eliminate unequal exchange as the basis of super-profits. There have been ongoing attempts to achieve this using a number of rules including the latest attempts to stop transfer pricing. But there is now a growing consensus that this has failed and that SA is one of the most super-exploited semi-colonies on earth.

This means that in practice for 18 years the ANC has proven that its Stalinist SACP theory of the progressive national revolution is a fraud. It has presided over the return of EU and US multinationals into the mining industry and failed to put an end to imperialist super-exploitation of low wages (reflected in the poverty living standards of workers) and transfer pricing. The lion's share of value pumped out of mining continued to go into the coffers of the mining multinationals, Anglo-American, Lonmin, Glencore etc. The rate of super-profit remains massive. The minority share that came to the regime via royalties, taxes and minority shareholdings such as the BEES (Black Business Empowerment) did not benefit the mass of South Africans, but went into the pockets of a newly emerging Black bourgeoisie. The ANC is now shown up by its failed national revolution as the party of a new Black national bourgeoisie presiding over the super-exploitation of the South African working class.

All of this was predicted decades ago by revolutionary Marxists who fought the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. The Stalinist popular front empowered a bureaucracy and a new South African bourgeoisie by dis-empowering the working class. These revolutionaries are once again vindicated by events. The ANC Tripartite regime has trapped SA into dependency on Western imperialist super-exploitation. It has led to the rise of a

Black bourgeoisie and crony capitalism and the rising mass dissatisfaction with the successive leaderships of the ANC, its statified union Congress, COSATU, and with its political leadership in the SACP. The miners of Marikana are but the first wave of mass insurrection that rejects the ANC regime and its state force and is embarking on the road to workers power!

### ANC Response

Despite the recent attempts at Polokwane to outline a new plan for national development based on a greater share of the resource rent, these pathetic paper proposals have been overwhelmed by the global crisis and falling demand for minerals which has put pressure on the regime to contain and discipline mining workers, to screw down labor and production costs to restore levels of super-profits. This created a wave of dissatisfaction with the NUM and the series of disputes that ultimately led to the Marikana Massacre.

The ANC response to the Massacre has been to resort to police suppression of the militants to defeat and contain the miners' strike, and at the same time try to keep control of the moderates by holding a public inquiry and promising major economic reforms. These reforms amount to promises to tax the mining super-profits via a tougher Resource Rent Tax (RTT) that will create a Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF) to invest in national and economic social development. This conception of national development is tied to SA's membership of the BRICS led by China. It is being promoted as an attempt to reduce its dependence on Western imperialism by collaborating with the 'market socialist' giant whose developmental model can be copied. Instead of 'Western' imperialist exploitation the ANC sees China as an alternative economic power with which it can enter a "win-win" partnership based on "equal exchange". Thus in the SIMS plans launched in March 2012 the ANC proposes that on the back of a SWF funded by the 50% RRT it can develop upstream in energy (power and infrastructure) and downstream, manufacturing, education, housing etc., much as China has. It wants to build Pilot Beneficiaries Hubs based on the Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZs) which allow new investment, technology etc., to drive up the 'value chain' to add-value and fund jobs and rising living standards. This, they say will allow SA to follow China's path to national development, overcoming the

barriers of super-exploitation, unemployment and poverty. For some in the ANC this is not enough to stop super-exploitation. By its own calculations, SIMS-proposed 50% RRT taxes only half the super-profits of mining companies. Julius Malema, the expelled ANC Youth League leader, and his faction want to replace the leadership of the ANC and its policy of taxing profits. Their main demand is 'nationalization without compensation'. Here we can see that Malema is trying to contain the political radicalization of workers to rescue the ANC and the Tripartite Alliance by promising a more radical reform than the current leadership. Malema is popular with the striking miners who support more militant moves to share the wealth. Many are now breaking with the NUM and COSATU and calling for directly negotiated shares of the profits.

Malema's factional fight inside the ANC does not break with the popular front. Nationalization without compensation is still a bourgeois nationalization. This is not a nationalization from below based on workers occupation and workers control! 'Nationalization' undertaken by the ANC would be a bourgeois nationalization. The process will remain one led by the Tripartite Alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and SACP in which a bourgeois state is the agent of national capitalist development continuing to act as a junior partner of imperialism. Malema is unlikely to win a majority in the upcoming ANC Congress for 'nationalization' as a panacea, because the ANC leadership is confident that its reforms will be bankrolled by China. "This time round" the global crisis which has burst to the surface at Marikana and is spreading to all the mines, pushing the ANC leadership to 'reinvent' itself by modeling SA development on China's 'market socialism'.

In other words ANC wants SA to "takeoff" and raise living standards like China and the other BRICS. Not surprisingly then, the new investments from China will be centered on "geology and mineral resources" as well as on financial cooperation between the Development Bank of South Africa and China Development Bank. But according to Kgalema Motlanthe, South Africa's deputy president, things are different this time around. The deals, he said, are meant to "strike a healthy balance" in trade volume between the two countries. "This financial cooperation agreement is between development banks and the specific projects in which they are going to invest, they have to identify these projects," Motlanthe, who was on a three-day China trip, was quoted by Reuters as saying. "To that end, the difference is, instead of just exporting these minerals as raw materials, there will be...value added to create jobs on both sides," he added.

In other words a 'win-win' deal. China may be investing in the old 'imperialist' ventures of energy, minerals and banking, but it won't be extracting super-profits! Or at least the super-profits will be divided equally – hence 'win-win' for both the Chinese and South African bourgeoisie! A recent delegation from the province of Gauteng visited China to sign up to a deal on infrastructure projects. It was led by Gauteng Premier Nomvula Mokonyane who said: "Our people's lives will improve because after this partnership is sealed, we will see a massive roll-out of infrastructure projects. Already in Tshwane, we have a number of flagship projects in the pipeline including the construction of the Tshwane International Conference Center and Rainbow Junction, among others."

## Can South Africa develop like China?

Let's look at this prospect. The global crisis and the slump in demand for minerals as well as the hardship facing workers that led to Marikana, may speed up the China connection. China continues to keep the economies of the BRICS steaming along so long as its own economy is still growing rapidly. The current slowdown in China from 8% to maybe 7% is still a raging boom by comparison with Western imperialist states. In this sense China appears to be different from the established imperialist powers in continuing to keep the world economy from slumping into deep depression.

So is Chinese investment an alternative to imperialist super-exploitation? Is China different to the Western Powers? Can it sustain the world economy and in particular the BRICS? Will South Africa be able to attract more trade and investment out of China, and also increase its share of the rent from mineral extraction? And will the Chinese model of development reproduce in SA an increase in added value based on transfer of technology and knowledge?

Deborah Brautigam of China in Africa: The Real Story sees China as different from the European powers, but still expecting a commercial advantage from its investments in Africa. China is not copying European colonization which sucks out resources and labor power without concern for upstream or downstream development, but can see the benefits in developing Africa after the Chinese model. Not only is China exporting its model to semi-colonies like South Africa but since 2000 and the policy to "Go Out" and membership of WTO, it is demonstrating this process of going up the value stream from cheap labor to high tech in its FDI in SA. This shows that China has used FDI in semi-colonies like South Africa to launch its "Go Global". It does not compete directly against the established brands of EU, US and Japanese corporate, but starts cheap or contracts to established brands to develop a competitive product and then develop its own brands globally.

In SA Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) took off after 2000 where it used SA as a 'learning arena' for the globalization of its banks and industries. So China is not only doing swaps of loans for resources, it is investing in upstream energy and infrastructure, and downstream consumer goods such as domestic appliances, electronics and communications. "Adding these estimates suggests that Chinese assets in South Africa in mining alone were probably worth close to US\$700 million at end of 2007. This suggests that MOFCOM's figure of US\$702 million was reasonably accurate, in contrast to the SARB figure of US\$70 million." (The Edge, p8.)

"The period since 2000 has seen a major expansion in the Chinese presence in South African mining with the doubling of Sinosteel's investment during 2006, and the entry of other mining companies as discussed above. Several major Chinese corporations have entered the banking and construction sectors." (Ibid., p. 18.) Thus China's 'demonstration effect' is a major factor in reviving hopes that 'win-win' deals will see South Africa and other African states make the same leap from underdevelopment to development made by China.

### China's 21st century imperialism

This is not the familiar 19th or 20th century imperialism, but rather a supercession of 19th and 20th century imperialism.

(cont.pg.12)

On the surface it is easy to see why semi-colonial governments can hope to do ‘win-win’ deals with China. Moreover, the Chinese developmental model which is regarded widely as a form of ‘market socialism’ fits snugly with the central role of the state in ownership and control of African economies in the ideology of the ANC, ZANU PF and other African governments. All of this hinges on the assumption that China is a new form of economy – a hybrid of a socialist state and the capitalist market – which is not governed by the laws governing the economies of the other big powers. Thus it appears that China has escaped the trap of Western imperialism and shows the way for the rest of the BRICS and other ‘developing’ countries to follow the same road.

But on closer analysis, China is not essentially different from Western Imperialist economies as its policies are dictated by the laws of motion of monopoly capital and by the growing rivalry with other imperialist states. Standard neo-liberal economic theory argues that China’s Overseas FDI is different from established developed economies as they are not global leaders in any sector. This view is echoed on the left, that China cannot catch up with imperialism because it does not have competitive advantage in any global sector of production. Some argue that this fits with Lenin’s concept of imperialism where imperialist firms must be world leaders to monopolize a sector of production, e.g. oil, banks, steel, autos etc.

What this theory overlooks is that China with its centralized state capitalist apparatus is able to leverage its 100s of millions of low paid workers to create huge surpluses to catch up with its stagnating rivals. This means that it has massive accumulated super-profits to buy existing assets or resources and form joint ventures to break into sectors where it seeks to dominate in the future. In South Africa as well as FDI in minerals and financial services, China sought markets for assembled CKD (pre-fab) goods and offer more competitive, cheaper, brands and services on the basis of technology transfer arising from FDI inside China itself.

Thus, China has been able to ‘capitalize’ on its history as a Degenerated Workers State (DWS) to accumulate surplus value rapidly and ‘go out’ by applying its developmental model in key countries like South Africa. So not only has China demonstrated by its rapid expansion that it is an emerging imperialist power, it is also proving that it is not immune to the deepening global capitalist crisis and is showing signs of overproduction of capital. This is now becoming evident as China’s economy is slowing down. Perhaps China’s slowdown is only because it is tied to the global market, and not due to any inherent crisis of overproduction? This is the most common view on the reformist left, a view shared by the ANC and other African regimes. Because the ANC views capitalism as capable of being reformed into ‘socialism’ by equalizing exchange, China is ‘socialist’ to the extent that it can use ‘Keynesian’ state deficit spending to compensate for falling trade. But in a capitalist economy state investment in infrastructure will generate stagflation unless that infrastructure contributes to the production of commodities that China can sell in the world market.

China’s crisis then, exposes for all to see, the limits of ‘market so-

cialism’ as dependent on the underlying laws of global capitalism. The BRICS look to the ‘China model’ of state managed development to strengthen trade and investment relations and move toward swap deals where China provides long term loans or infrastructure deals in exchange for resources. Yet the BRICS categorized as ‘emerging markets’ hides essential differences behind surface similarities. The essential differences are that Russia and China are imperialist countries and have no interest in ‘developing’ the other BRICS unless they can reap super-profits. This means that BRICS like South Africa cannot escape the ‘sphere of influence’ of Chinese and Russian imperialism without a socialist revolution.

Russia and China are newly emerging imperialist countries having made the transition from DWS back to capitalism. Despite massive problems associated with capitalist restoration, their strong state and relative independence from existing imperialist states has allowed them to escape the fate of the other BRICS which remain trapped in their colonial dependence. We can see how Russia and China have formed a new imperialist bloc competing with the US-led bloc by creating its own sphere of influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This sphere of influence now includes the other BRICS (Brazil, India and South Africa) as well as other semi-colonial states such as Iran, Venezuela etc. Yet inevitably this sphere of influence is one in which Russia and China dominate and super-exploit their semi-colonial clients. India, Brazil and South Africa are all characterized by the continued dominance of imperialist FDI which limits their ability to develop an independent bourgeoisie and accumulate capital on their own account.

## Conclusion

Our conclusion is that the ANC cannot lead South Africa out of imperialist super-exploitation by following China’s development model. It has proven that the bourgeois democratic revolution cannot be completed by means of a popular front government but in fact holds back its completion by trapping the working class in a client state of imperialism. This will prove to be the case with China also. China is not a new form of society that can escape capitalist crisis. It is an emerging imperialist power that is now the main rival of the US bloc in Africa. The ANC’s strategic alliance with China will see it staying trapped in semi-colonial super-exploitation and its people trapped in poverty and misery.

The miners of Marikana will not win freedom or economic security without leading a socialist revolution in SA. For that to happen the workers need their own Revolutionary Party and a program that opens the road to revolution. It is necessary to build a working class movement based on the mines; workers councils in every workplace and township; workers defense militias; for the seizure of power and formation of a Workers and poor farmers Government to expropriate imperialist and capitalist property and plan a socialist economy!

**Build a Workers Party that unites the militant vanguard from Africa, China the Middle East to the USA!**

**For a new World Party of Socialist Revolution!**

## **Helpless Social Democrats facing Fascism and the War Danger**

Social Democracy and the "left" bourgeois parties, such as the Radical parties in Iberia and France and PASOK in Greece are being used to divide the working class again. Ever since August, 1914 they have been the willing handmaidens of the bourgeoisie, counterrevolution and war. This has been less apparent for some years as they peddled capitalist European unity in various forms. Now, with a worsening global crisis of capitalism and contraction of each national economy, selling European union has been assigned to bankers and economist wonks and the bogus left gets the role of selling the working class on governments of "national salvation."

This is how Capital plans to put over the current and next rounds of austerity measures. When these don't work, "national salvation" will involve austerity for war preparations, i.e., "guns, not butter," exactly in the words of fatso Goering, who made fortunes for 'both sides.' The bourgeoisie is holding the threat of fascism over the heads of the social-democrats and popular parties, and is even giving some police powers to the gangs of the Golden Dawn fascists in Greece right now(!) The message is the bourgeoisie means business. The social-democrats will deliver or the fascists will.

Even in France where Hollande will not likely believe 'his' bourgeoisie will opt for the biggest state, which is what a fascist police state is, he resorts to policies of "national salvation," with the pumping up of medieval racist and anti-foreign prejudices worthy of Bourbon and Orleanist kings preparing the masses for war. Wars are coming. Proxy wars, where smaller or ex-imperialist powers can make themselves useful, profiting contractors for the bigger powers and thus "save" their economies after the example of Japan in the Korean War. And World War, which has the attractions of destruction of Capitals and immense treasury lootings. An inter-imperialist world war between a U.S. imperialist camp of some final configuration and

the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is plainly coming. That such a war would result in a dark age of barbarism or worse does not occur to these reifiers of their own class' propaganda. To short-circuit the capitalists "salvation" plan we ought to organize independent working class militias to smash fascism in the egg! The social-democrats and fake left will blubber big crocodile tears over the 'violence' and otherwise disqualify themselves to lead



Golden Dawn Fascists Thugs    Guardian Photo  
any workers. This will both pose the need for and make political room for the revolutionary party of the working class. The revolutionary workers of every 'nationality,' trade, craft and condition of employment or lack of it need this party like they need air and water and need to know this now!

### **SHOUT OUT FROM OAKLAND**



Blueford Family & Friends demand justice  
BayView photo

On May 6th, Alan Blueford was gunned down by the racist Oakland police two weeks before his graduation. Then on June 5th, 15-year old Derrick Gaines was shot and killed by the San Francisco police. The police tried to stop him as he was walking and he was shot as he ran. On September 2nd in Vallejo, California, 22-year old Mario Romero was murdered by police who fired 32 bullets into his car

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as he was sitting in front of his home. His brother-in-law was seriously wounded. This is the fifth Vallejo police killing of a black or brown worker this year.

At the Oakland City Council meeting on September 18th, justifiably outraged family and supporters of Alan Blueford challenged the lying police version of his murder, which keeps changing. The City Council listened to a long line of community members who told the council in no uncertain terms that they had to jail the killer cops. The Council then ironically moved to their first agenda item...declaring Oakland an international city of peace and Sept. 21 as the city's international day of peace. The protesters continued and the city council, cowards that they are, ran from the public and the meeting was adjourned. Two weeks later at the next Council meeting the protesters made a loud intervention forcing the police to turn over a highly redacted and inadequate police report foreshadowing the city's decision not to prosecute officer Masso who actually shot himself to cover up for his crime.

Concurrent with the September 18th meeting in Oakland, just 15 miles away at the Vallejo City Council meeting, protesters including activists from Labor Black and Brown (LB&B) chanted "No Justice! No Peace!" in protest at the city's new economic development strategic planning meeting. Vallejo City Council had canceled an earlier scheduled city forum on police brutality and substituted this planning meeting, explaining that it was more important. An LB&B speaker and union member of SEIU 1021 called for tribunals and for labor to shut down the city in response to these racist murders. The City Council chambers were filled by the Ramero supporters and like in Oakland, the City Council retreated from the righteous indignation of the people.

The oppressed communities need but can not wait for the labor movement to take the lead in the fight to end racist cop oppression. The families of victims feel abandoned by civil society and labor alike, and in city after city they find small groups of activists, occupiers, socialists, anarchists, guilty liberals and modern day Father Gapons with interfaith pacifiers aiming to Ghandi-ize the masses.

(cont.pg.14)

*(Shout Out from Oakland cont from pg. 13)*

It is rare when organized labor steps up to the plate the way the ILWU local 10 did on October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2010 holding a political strike demanding "Jail Killer Cops."

Today liberals and progressives like Dan Siegel (Bay Area labor lawyer, former aide to Mayor Jean Quan until her attacks on Occupy,) is calling for the Oakland Police Department (OPD) to be put under federal trusteeship; something that has long been in the works due to numerous civil rights violations under the reign of Democratic Mayors, such darlings of the reformist left as Ron Dellums, Jerry Brown and ex-Maoist and current tool of the capitalist class, Democratic Mayor Jean Quan. Siegel's illusions in the imperialist state guide him to tell the oppressed of Oakland that if the Feds step in we will be able to police the police. This is a dangerous illusion that Siegel is pushing. It ignores the class nature of the state and presents the Federal government as a supra-class and essentially democratic structure. Being a labor lawyer he should know better. We need only look at Obama's use of the Coast Guard to back EGT against the Longview ILWU local 21 in January to be assured the Feds are no friends of the working class or the oppressed. Siegel and his ilk, based on their authority as "progressive lawyers" put them-selves into the middle of the cases of police brutality not to advance independent labor/community action, self-defense or workers tribunals, but to keep the families' hopes for justice up with illusions in the courts or civil rights commissions or via Federal intervention. This fraudulent advice disempowers the families and lets the labor leadership off the hook as they run from labors' responsibility to protect those victimized by capitalist racist oppression.

## **Open letter to the FSP presidential campaign from the CWG & LC**

We had great hopes for the FSP presidential campaign. When brother Durham asked our HWRS comrade in NY to endorse your campaign we discussed it at our EC meeting. We tasked a comrade to write to your NC and ask about your unserious approach to the Sean Gillis case in Oakland. Unfortunately a faction fight split the HWRS before the letter could be penned.

We were concerned that despite your hav-

ing delegates on the Alameda Labor Council you did not develop resolutions from your locals and bring them to the council to support Sean. We were concerned with your comrade's apparent apolitical approach to developing the case, concentrating solely on the "merits of the case," in particular the legal issues instead of using your national press and international affiliates to draw out the class dynamics of this case. For socialists this case is like a beach-ball floated across the plate. This case ties together the rampant collusion between the "ole boys network" at the Oakland Fire Department and Emergency Services, the police state, and the trade union bureaucracy. It was important that the Gillis defense committee allied itself with ILWU defense committee and was a visible part of the anti-police brutality movement of Occupy. But you took no leadership tying this case to the program of the working class as regards self defense.

And now we see why. Your program for dealing with racist cop terror is not a working class, revolutionary or dare we say Trotsky's program, rather it is the program of reformism. You call for a kinder gentler police force guided by a police review board. Even without the recent spate of racist cop executions of black and brown people (one every 32 hours,) the day to day terror of "stop and frisk," the communist movement has always had a program of self-defense.

You will find the call for workers self-defense guards against state and counter-revolutionary violence going back to the historic program of our movement. In The Junius pamphlet Rosa Luxemburg elaborated our program. Point one:

*"Disarmament of the entire police force and of all officers and nonproletarian soldiers; disarmament of all members of the ruling classes." followed by point 3: Arming of the entire adult male proletarian population as a workers' militia. Creation of a Red Guard of proletarians as an active part of the militia for the constant protection of the Revolution against counter-revolutionary attacks and subversions."*

And in the 1938 Transitional Program we find clear statement of how we defend the working class:

*"...This is our point of departure. In*

*(14)*

*connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating workers' groups for self-defense. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.*

*A new upsurge of the mass movement should serve not only to increase the number of these units but also to unite them according to neighborhoods, cities, regions. It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a workers' militia as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings and press."*

Richard Fraser was a militant advocate of multi-racial working class self defense. The lessons of the Deacons for Defense and the entire struggle against racist terror across the whole history of the American experience calls out for armed self-defense. You know our class' history as well as we do. Nat Turner, John Brown, Carlota of Cuba, Malcolm X, Marx, Luxemburg, Lenin, and Trotsky championed self defense of the oppressed. Yet in your revolutionary socialist presidential campaign, you refuse to raise the backbone of the revolutionary workers program, the arming and self defense of our class and the oppressed. You sound like the liberal CopWatchers and the Van Jones followers, not like revolutionaries. Revolutionaries run for president to advance the program of the proletariat, but you advance the program of the petty bourgeoisie.

**•DOWN WITH PHONY POLICE REVIEW COMMISSIONS!**

**•FOR LABOR TO LAUNCH POLITICAL STRIKES AGAINST RACIST COP AND VIGILANTE MURDER!**

**•FORM UP MULTI RACIAL SELF DEFENSE GUARDS IN EVERY UNION HALL TO END THE RACIST TERROR !**

We urge you to change your campaign program to reflect the fact that policing under the rule of capitalism will always be brutal, even with police review commissions and YouTube and streaming video of every bloody murder! Make your participation in the Sean Gillis case political. Bring his case

*(cont.pg.15)*

to the unions you have influence in and then to the Labor Council. Bring the program of working class self defense to the oppressed and the working class and we will consider supporting your campaign on that bold step toward revolutionary Marxism alone!

The FSP position of "vote your conscience" on Governor Jerry Brown's proposition 30 reflects an opportunist capitulation to the reformist milieu in the teachers unions whose pragmatic outlook can not conceive of a proletarian solution. Of course the Labor Notes folks and Solidarity totally capitulate but that, is to be expected. When even the petty bourgeois NOW can see Prop 30 for the attack on the poor and working class that it is, the FSP should draw the line and aim their proletarian critique at Prop 30.

Prop 30 is the last vestige of the "tax the rich" campaigns which the reformists used to defuse Occupy and direct working class action. Brown out-maneuvered the reformists after the "millionaires tax" was edged out of the way. The remaining pole of attraction for the reformist left is this bitter deal putting responsibility for education and incarceration on the working poor via regressive taxation, and the FSP tells workers to be Nebbish-like to 'be pragmatic-ignore the



Nebbish

dialectic-vote your conscience.' They do not go to the working class and warn of the farce of the election and that Prop 30 will not save your schools.

The FSP campaign should be explaining that to win funding for schools we have to attack the ruling class profit takers by building a general strike movement to shut them down! Alongside the fight for labor action we must oppose all taxes that put the burden of the austerity on the working class. Giving in, ever so slightly to the illusions in equitable government pushed by the backers of Prop 30 is to



Youth in Louisiana fight School to Prison Pipeline  
concede that the crisis is the responsibility of the working class and that we should pay for it. You do not warn the working class of the farce of the election and show that Prop 30 will not save our schools.

Prop 30 creates a permanent mandate without funding source for \$6.2 billion to "Public Safety." When politicians talk about public safety it is a euphemism for the armed body of the state and social control. Working class militants must draw the line.

Defeat the school to prison pipeline!  
No Regressive Taxes! Defeat measures that support the armed bodies of the state under the guise of "Public Safety."

### Election Boycott and Ultra-Leftism

*"Criticism -- the most keen, ruthless and uncompromising criticism--should be directed, not against parliamentarianism or parliamentary activities, but against those leaders who are unable--and still more against those who are unwilling -- to utilize parliamentary elections and the parliamentary rostrum in a revolutionary and communist manner." – Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder (1920)*

One of the popular forms of protest against the 2012 United States election circus that has caught on has been the election boycott movement. Originally started on Facebook as "Boycott the 2012 Presidential Election," this movement has spawned voter registration card burnings and calls to boycott all elections, period. Initiated by leftist Terri Lee and driven by the writings of liberal "election integrity activist" Mark E. Smith, this action has been endorsed by many Facebook and online activists including the "Proletarian Center," and of course by anarchist-types. The boycott is certainly tapping into disillusionment with the system and is

a breath of fresh air when compared to the rabid Democratic Party politicos. But as far as raising class-consciousness or fighting against capitalism, it doesn't lead anywhere.

Lenin dissected ultra-leftism 90 years ago in Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder. This boycott movement is not Marxist it is not even Left. It lacks a political program and is based on populist outrage. The politics of the boycott movement range from mentioning class struggle to hyper-linking to a Libertarian/Objectivist-website from the official Boycott website. This is about as far from fighting for a just society as one can get, as the Ayn Rand Objectivists stand for unfettered capitalist exploitation and gutting even the minimal social safety net that exists. For his part, Mark E. Smith distorts both the Cuban Revolution and the South African struggle against Apartheid by trying to argue that election boycotts were a driving force behind these. He ignores the fact that Castro had broad support and that the Cuban revolutionaries militarily defeated the Batista forces. South Africa had a very militant and politically conscious Black working class that was engaged in class struggle against the white Apartheid regime. Ironically the capitalist ANC that Mark E. Smith cites recently massacred miners at Marikana. There is no real struggle as far as Mark E. Smith is concerned, though. On the Carson Show radio program he told the boycotters not to protest on Election Day but to stay at home.

The boycott movement paints the American political system as corrupted and the elections as a farce. So this is new insight? The American political system was created for the rising bourgeoisie (mercantile class) and the plantation Slavocracy. From the earliest beginnings through chattel slavery to the robber barons to murderous 20th century American imperialism, it has always represented the class rule of the bourgeoisie. There can be no real democratic system until the working class takes power and abolishes capitalism and institutes workers democracy through workers councils. It is this dictatorship of capital that the boycott movement disguises. What is needed is not to reform the electoral system or pressure the Democratic Party to the left, but to organize the working class for a struggle against the capitalist system.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR REGROUPMENT

Letter of Aug 20 2012

Dear Comrades of the RCIL,

Thanks for your reply to our latest letter [29 June 2012] on our historic differences and methods. It is good to finally get a serious response to what has always been a condition of developing our relationship – resolving our historic differences.

You will remember that right from the outset we stipulated that hand in hand with practical collaboration on drafting documents to test out our agreement on important current questions, we said we needed to open a serious discussion of our historic differences. We made it clear that we could not proceed towards fusion talks until these differences had been resolved. Our insistence on this was to avoid what happened in 1991 when the RTT was bureaucratically excluded from the LRCI for refusing to say that its differences over the ‘united front’ with Yeltsin was a ‘tactical’ rather than a principled difference. It was a principled difference then, and remains so today. The same happened with the Proletarian Faction and the POP and POB in 1995 when the LRCI regarded the question of NATO bombing in Bosnia as a ‘tactical’ difference, while we insisted it was principled.

Thus our most recent letter was the third since September 2011 that spelled out our historic differences. The first on [Monday, September 19, 2011] summarized these. The second [Tuesday, November 22, 2011] repeated this summary with a bibliography of key documents. The most recent went further and facilitated your response by quoting large sections from some of these documents to make specific our critique of the LRCI/LFI program between 1989 and 1999. We have compiled the exchange of letters on this subject in an Appendix as a separate file.

We also replied twice to your proposals that we form a Liaison Committee or Bloc (following the Bloc of Four). The first letter [Monday September 19, 2011] explained that we rejected a Liaison Committee because both the HWRS and CWG had our relations bureaucratically broken by the LRCI and we wanted to revisit this history before agreeing to a LC with you.

This history is explained in detail in the RTT’s document “In Defense of Trotskyism” (IDOT).

The second letter [October 14, 2011] explained why a Bloc with you modeled on the Bloc of Four was not possible since we had principled differences on the unconditional defense of workers states. We didn’t reply to your last letter asking us to explain yet again our approach to fusion, though we were drafting a short letter restating our objections and informed you of this fact, but for some reason that letter was not sent.

So you can see comrades that we have been upfront about our view of our relations from the start and fulfilled our side of this informal arrangement that resulted in the writing of two documents (on Libya and China) with RCIL collaboration, and amending and endorsing another on Greece written by the RCIT. Furthermore, we have reproduced a number of other RCIL statements such as that on the UK youth uprising and the more recent statements on the Greek elections. And at the same time we have tried to for nearly a year to get you to engage seriously on our historical differences. So there is no lack of cooperation and willingness to collaborate with the RCIL, as the recent letter from the RWG also testifies (item 11 in the Appendix).

### Liaison Committee of Communists

In replying to your letter of July 29 to the CWG we will respond as the Liaison Committee of Communists. Internal problems in the HWRS, compounded by the geographic isolation of our three groups have held back progress in putting our Liaison Committee on a stronger footing. Now that the HRWS has undergone a split, our three groups, RWG (ZIM), CWG (USA) and CWG (A/NZ) are committed to overcoming barriers to communication and to work towards more active collaboration. We see our common development towards a democratic centralist current which must aim for regroupment to form a new communist international. That is why we are very serious about continuing to discuss and resolve our differences with the RCIT, to try to move towards fusion.

However, as we will explain, though our differences are now being seriously debated

and possibly narrowed, a big difference remains. For Trotsky the unconditional defense of the workers states became the most important question facing the Fourth International approaching the Second Imperialist War. Bourgeois democratic rights, including the right to self-determination were clearly subordinated to defense of workers’ property. We pointed out that in the second letter on the Bloc of Four Trotsky refused to bloc with those who did not unconditionally defend the USSR as a Degenerated Workers State. That is the substance of the main difference we have with you and the subject of our most recent letter. For us, resolving this difference is a precondition for further steps towards fusion. Meanwhile, while this discussion continues we will for our part continue to develop the collaborative relationship we have had in the last year.

In this letter we will not reply to all the questions raised in your letter but try to concentrate the discussion on the key principled differences. We will also leave open the wider questions as to the material bases of these differences as they have been stated forcefully by both sides already. We will avoid large quotations and focus on a few key documents. The first of these is In Defence of Trotskyism which covers the LCC position on defense of the workers states as well as the way these were handled by the LRCI. The second is the RTT Bosnia pamphlet (especially Part 3, p. 55-75) that presents the LCC position on the Yugoslav war up to 1997. The third is the CEMICOR document on the Albanian-Serbian Question which deals with the ‘99 NATO/Serbian war over Kosovo. We hope that these documents will clarify any misunderstandings about our respective positions, so we can see precisely what differences actually exist.

### Unconditional defence of Degenerate Workers States

When we (RTT and CLNZ at the time) first entered into fraternal relations with the LRCI we did so in broad agreement with its program, specifically the document that signified the MRCI’s adopting of orthodox Trotskyism on the workers states, “The Degenerated Revolution,” and the subsequent “Trotskyist Manifesto.” Trotsky would have no problem blocking with the MRCI/LRCI on the basis

(cont .pg. 17)

(Regroupment cont from pg. 16)

on the basis of this program since it clearly stood for the unconditional defense of the DWSs. "Whenever the bureaucracy is forced to fight against the bourgeoisie, genuine revolutionaries, if they are not able to immediately overthrow and replace the Stalinist bureaucrats, must act together with them in a united front in order to defend the interests of the working class. In such struggles the Stalinists do not cease to be a counter-revolutionary force. If their leadership is not broken in struggle then either the workers' organisation or state will suffer defeat, or it will be defended or even extended, in a counter-revolutionary fashion." (TDR, Chapter 8)

However, we think that Trotsky would not have agreed to the LRCI leadership then abandoning its program as follows:

[1] In 1990 the LRCI blocked with a reactionary nationalist restorationist government in Lithuania. (See IDOT). While Lithuania had the right to self-determination, this was not at the expense of political revolution. To subordinate political revolution to the right to self-determination is to put a condition on defense of the workers states. The LRCI changed its line to support a restorationist popular front between the Lithuanian national pro-restorationist bureaucracy which was being actively supported by imperialism, against the Russian occupying troops, thus subordinating the defense of workers property. Here the Russian Stalinist regime became the main enemy not the restorationist nationalists in a popular front with imperialism. The correct position in TDR was for Russian and Lithuanian workers to rebuild revolutionary soviets and militias and bloc militarily in defense of workers property against the national restorationists, appealing to the ranks of the Soviet troops to join them and build new soldiers soviets. This would prove to Lithuanian workers that political revolution and a genuinely socialist USSR, and not a separate capitalist Lithuania aligned to imperialism, was in their class interests.

[2] The LRCI also changed The Degenerated Revolution which called for a ban on all 'restorationist' parties, to a ban on only 'fascist' parties. Because workers had illusions in bourgeois parliament, restoration

and national self-determination, the LRCI adapted to 'public opinion' to allow the bourgeois democratic right to form political parties with open restorationist programs. Thus the LRCI was now calling on workers to support bourgeois democracy as the road to political revolution, when it was actually the road to social counter-revolution.

[3] These changes prepared the ground for the popular front with Yeltsin in August 1991. Yeltsin was an open 'fast track' restorationist clearly allied to imperialism. Like most of the E. European Stalinist regimes, he sought to restore capitalism by means of bourgeois parliament. The LRCI changed TDR. Rather than fight the restorationists, and bloc with any bureaucratic faction defending workers property, the LRCI defended the open restorationist Yeltsin in a popular front with imperialism against the Stalinist hardliners who wanted to slow down the restoration process by suppressing bourgeois democracy. The result was that Yeltsin won and immediately set about attacking workers rights, banning the CP, dissolving the USSR and eventually using tanks to shell parliament to impose the rapid 'shock therapy' International Monetary Fund (IMF) plan for restoration. This is what we refer to as Yeltsin's 'counter coup'.

The original TDR position was correct. No united front with restorationists (fast or slow track) was possible. Workers must oppose restorationists by rebuilding independent soviets and workers militias against both tanks and parliament. There was no essential difference between Yeltsin and the hardliners. But in terms of workers advancing the political revolution Yeltsin was the main enemy. Yeltsin used the restorationist parliamentary popular front with the IMF and imperialism to exploit workers illusions in bourgeois democracy and to disarm them in the face of the destruction of the workers state.

[4] In 1995 in the Bosnian war the LRCI called for dual defeatism of NATO and Serbia when it considered that Serbia was still a 'moribund workers state'. Not to call for a victory to Serbia is a clear rejection of unconditional defense of a DWS. Even if Serbia was a restored capitalist semi-colony we would have to call for victory against NATO. The LRCI justification for this break with unconditional defense was that Serbia was engaged

in ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Muslims. Worse, the LRCI called on imperialism to "send heavy artillery, tanks and planes to the Bosnian army" and "tanks and heavy artillery, and yes if possible planes and Scud missiles" and even "international volunteers" to support their Bosnian proxies.

The LRCI slogan to defeat NATO is therefore pure centrist rhetoric while also failing to stop imperialism's arming of Bosnian and Croatian proxy regimes in its war with Serbia. Even if Serbia was not a DWS, to put an equal sign on NATO and Serbia is to suppress the Leninist distinction between oppressor and oppressed states. As the RTT document on Bosnia argues, while workers have to defend those being ethnically cleansed on all sides, the main character of the war by 1994 was that between imperialist NATO and Serbia as a DWS undergoing capitalist restoration. We had to call unconditionally for the defense of Serbia, while at the same time mobilizing Serbian and other ethnic workers militias to overthrow their nationalist restorationist bourgeoisies in league with imperialism.

[5] In 1999 in the NATO/Serbian war, again the LRCI had an effective dual defeatism because while it argued for the defense of Serbia it didn't call for armed workers to defend Serbia against NATO bombing. Instead it said that it would not defend Serbia from NATO where it was ethnically cleansing Kosovars. Thus the LRCI said: "Nevertheless, in the massive bombing by NATO air forces, revolutionaries defended Serbia/Montenegro against imperialist attack. This did not include, however, any concession to Serbian chauvinism - its oppression of Kosova, or its denial of the Kosovars' right to self-determination." Thus the defense of Serbia (still as a 'moribund workers state' for the LRCI) from NATO was subordinated to the bourgeois democratic rights of an independent Kosovar 'Workers' Republic'. While the Kosovars were nationally oppressed, support for their right to independence against Serbia was an obligation to be taken up by Serbian workers blocking with Kosovar workers against the Serbian nationalists, against NATO intervention and for the political revolution. Instead of calling for a political revolution by armed workers against the Serbian Stalinist regime, in a bloc with Kosova Muslim workers, to settle the national question within a Socialist Federation, the LRCI

(cont.pg.18)

subordinated unconditional defense of a workers state to a popular front between the restorationist KLA and imperialism.

### **What does this failure to defend workers property unconditionally have to do with the LCC/RCIT current political positions on Libya?**

The RCIT claims that the LRCI/LFI method on restoration in the DWSs is consistent with its position in Libya today, and it is the LCC position that has changed. But the unconditional defense of workers states is not part of the program of the bourgeois democratic revolution in an oppressed capitalist state. It is part of the political revolution in a post-capitalist state. The LRCI called for dual defeatism in wars between imperialism and DWSs, subordinating the defense of a workers state to the bourgeois democratic program of the 'democratic counter-revolution'. Dual defeatism between NATO and Serbia can only mean that the Stalinist dictatorship and not imperialism was the main enemy. The Marxist program for national self-determination in a counterrevolutionary breakup of DWSs in E. Europe, the USSR and Yugoslavia, is that the bourgeois democratic right to self determination of oppressed nationalities is subordinated to the political revolution. In 1995-1999 when the ex-Yugoslav DWSs were in the process of capitalist restoration, we were for the defeat of NATO, the defence of Serbia, for a multi-ethnic Bosnia, and for the right to self-determination of Kosovo as a socialist republic within a federation of Yugoslav socialist republics.

Libya is a semi-colony facing a global crisis of capitalism. It is an oppressed nation and has to be defended against imperialism, the main enemy. Our position on Libya shows that despite the complication of the NATO bombing (which we opposed,) for the national democratic revolution to become permanent, it has to proceed on three fronts: against the incumbent national Gaddafi regime, against the preferred imperialist replacement regime the TNC, and against the direct intervention of imperialism. We do not call for dual defeatism. Imperialism is the main enemy while Gaddafi is the immediate enemy of the revolution. In this situation, imperialism is never called on by revolutionaries to intervene in a civil war or in a war of national independence, because it is always the main enemy. On the other hand, in some situations, revolutionaries can refuse to

stop aid by imperialism when it is called for by a national liberation movement, as Trotsky explains in 'Learn to Think'

### **How does Trotsky's 'Learn to Think' relate to this?**

Trotsky argues against the anti-imperialists who deny the right of national democratic movements to make use of inter-imperialist rivalry to get material aid in their struggle against imperialism. This does not mean for a second that imperialism ceases to be the main enemy, and we never stop fighting to defend the oppressed country and defeat imperialism. At the same time, if a national liberation struggle calls for imperialist aid, which of course would only be offered to advance the interests of one imperialism against another, workers in those countries offering aid would not stop that aid, nor stop trying to defeat that imperialism at home. **We do not call for it, we warn against the imperialist interests tied to aid, but we do not stop it if it aids the revolution.**

Those who signed the joint statement on Libya called for the defeat of imperialism and the victory of Libya. In the absence of proletarian aid the NTC demanded a limited NATO intervention. It did so in its own interests to help remove the regime. None of us were in the position to stop the NATO bombing and had we been able to do so we would probably also have been able to arm the revolution ourselves. Even so, had we made a decision to not stop imperialist aid to the insurrection, we would certainly not have demanded it, and we would certainly have warned against it.

### **Conclusion**

In the early 1990s the LRCI made a major right-turn under pressure of capitalist restoration of the DWSs and imposed a condition on their defense – the political revolution must be subordinated to bourgeois democratic rights which included the right to form restorationist parties clearly linked to imperialism. Bourgeois democracy however, was the principle method by which 'fast track' restoration was imposed in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Those who warned against this right-turn said that this would represent a restorationist popular front with imperialism – the 'democratic counter-revolution'. They were bureaucratically expelled from the LRCI. So we think that the LRCI at that point was a bureaucratic centralist organization and

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that it subsequently has not overcome that bureaucratization. While the comrades of the RCIT broke to the left from the LFI over fundamental questions of class orientation and the period, the LCC cannot move towards fusion with the RCIT until that organization recognizes the material basis of the LRCI's right-turn away from unconditional defense of DWSs to a restorationist popular front with imperialism. Dave Brown for  
Liaison Committee of Communists

### **Correspondence**

We completely DISAGREE with support to Syriza...critical or otherwise. There is another smaller coalition which is less social democratic, but we would oppose electoral support to that coalition as well. Of course,, if we had Greek comrades who felt they had to carry out a temporary entry tactic, they might be forced to give electoral support. We believe Greece is in a pre-revolutionary situation. That is, electoral support to electoral "Left" parties can apply to situations where there is no immediate possibility of revolutionary change. In 1968 in France, the C.P. succeeded in diverting the movement into an election. I believe the situation in Greece is similar. When the struggle is in the streets and factories, elections change the focus of the struggle and allow the middle class to line up with the bourgeoisie. There is no immediate danger to the electoral franchise in Greece as you suggest.. though a coup is now more than likely. But we don't fight against coups by exercising "our right to vote." In a pre-revolutionary situation, we propose armed self-defense, factory occupations, soviets....but Voting? Huh? Also we note in other articles you emphasize the need for General Strikes and Nationalizations....BUT I don't see any mention of Soviets, Workers Councils, Cordones Industriales, Peoples Assemblies. (Did I miss something?) There seems to be no transition from the General Strike (called by who?) and the taking of power in your documents. For us the transition to DUAL POWER is key... I was in a one day General Strike last year in Spain called by the unions...great spirit but the union bureaucracy just used it to work off the frustration workers feel. The question of the General Strike has to be studied...or it is just a slogan at the bottom

(cont.pg.19)

leaflets.

Our immediate task is to EXPOSE the lack of democracy within capitalism. I don't believe Peace and Freedom is doing that by pretending to run candidates,... while the bourgeoisie pretends to count the votes.  
Earl Gilman

#### CWG responds

We direct the readers' attention to the letter from Earl Gilman, English language spokesperson for the El Nuevo Topo tendency. We are friendly with these thoughtful folks and have crossed each other's paths numerous times in political struggles over the years. Earl does not agree with our tactic of this past June in recommending a vote of critical support to SYRIZA in the Greek elections. To be fair, we think what he knew about our position was not much more than the revelation of it, the fact of it. But his objection was chiefly that a pre-revolutionary situation is not the time for giving any kind of support to elections for posts or presidents. We thought this was curious since he also said that depending on the real situation on the ground in Greece he might favor entry into ANSARA by worker revolutionaries. Then he spoke of the P&FP and other left tendencies' electoral campaigns and said "...they pretend to run and the bourgeoisie pretends to count the votes...." Let's address each of these thoughts.

We look at the touchstone for us, the experience of the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution, and we note that whenever they were a legal organization and even sometimes when they weren't yet re-legalized, the Bolsheviks ran for offices in the questionably real Dumas and other bodies. Then as late as the fall of 1917, i.e., after the worker and soldier ranks-claim to be fighting to organize a mass had faced down the Kornilov rising, the Bolsheviks ran in and won(!) the major city mayoral elections. What this tells us is that these elections mattered in the minds of important sections of the working class. This was how matters stood, in our view, in the Greek elections of this past June. We gave a highly critical support to SYRIZA with great reluctance, exactly because they are no Bolsheviks. But the workers see them as their party nowadays. They are a contradictory amalgam of tendencies, only the largest of which is

Tsipras' SYNAPISMOS, which was already tacking to the right as we wrote our piece (and as we warned.) At the same time, forces in SYRIZA were organizing and having some success generalizing Popular Assemblies. As good as that was we did not see them organizing these bodies in the workplaces, nor did we see them organizing workers' militias to fight the fascists, the Golden Dawn party. We said we will walk with you through these polling places and vote for SYRIZA and be there with you through every kind of experience, but what you really need to be doing now is organizing workers councils and militias for working class self-defence and the defence of the minorities.

We defend the right to vote and don't sneer at it like the ultraleftists and Anarchists do. We see this right as a species-being right, completely apart conceptually from the "citizen" right that the bourgeoisie sometimes invests with sentimental content and spends the rest of the time emptying of any social importance. This right is under attack right now, with the A.L.E.C. corporatists leading the mass disenfranchisement of the oppressed. They imagine a fascism on-the-cheap, without the superstate and the taxes to pay for it; a bourgeois pipe dream if there ever was one(!) In this context we generally support a vote for the left (yes, however small,) and point to how Trotsky even wanted the SWP to call for a vote for the CP, i.e., for Earl Browder in 1940. Just at that moment the CP was fighting against the coming war and against Jim Crow. What WE did not do was make an endorsement because each of the "socialist" campaigns have disappointed us on the score of making their electoralism serve important struggles. We asked them, we waited and then we told them. We had worried that you may have an anti-labor party position re the U.S., and don't know where you come down on the question. Most Latin American groups we converse with oppose our position in favor of a fighting workers labor party. Like Max Schachtman they say they can't imagine how it would not be a reformist party, citing the Lula PT experience and completely missing the point of Trotsky's reply to Schachtman.

We cannot speak to the possibilities or advantageousness of the ANSARA entry idea with any authoritative knowledge, but we

can see how this would be a practical possibility and not a self-delusion like the I.M.T.'s deep entryism in the P.S.U.V. They claim to be fighting to be organizing a mass revolutionary workers party from within in a campaign for "profundisacion" of the Chavez "Bolivarian Revolution," and --no surprise!-- they call for a vote for Chavez.

So we were very glad to see that you neither are taken in by "21st Century Socialism" nor do you seem to think anything can any longer be accomplished in the P.S.U.V. It is good to see that the electoral tool is indeed in your "rollaway" and that you are not reluctant to reach for it. We would be glad to know more about the worker militant candidate you are endorsing in Venezuela and think it likely that we would do so too. (ed. note: Comrade Gilman appears to have not read the article where we explained the need for building workers assemblies & workers militia in Greece. We supply this link <http://cwgusa.wordpress.com/2012/07/11/hwrs-on-the-greek-elections-may-312012/> Our call for general strike never stands alone like the IWW, rather as in this material we developed when we were in the HWRS [http://www.humanistsforrevolutionarysocialism.org/Current\\_Articles/Dec12Ports\\_cover.htm](http://www.humanistsforrevolutionarysocialism.org/Current_Articles/Dec12Ports_cover.htm) we build a bridge for the working class between the present struggles and the program of the socialist revolution.)

Comradely, for the CWG, Dan McNamara

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(cont. from pg. 20)

#### Harare Zimbabwe WORKING PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

As the RWG we call on all the delegates to this convention to fight for a CONGRESS OF WORKERS DELEGATES AND THE POOR as the only platform to conquer the demands of the workers and the poor. For this we must start to organise from our different sectors and organisations to mobilise them for the struggle against the vicious attack on the workers and poor.

Issued by the RWG  
(rwg.zimbabwe@gmail.com)

## **What we Fight For We fight to overthrow Capitalism**

Historically, capitalism expanded worldwide to free much of humanity from the bonds of feudal or tribal society, and developed the economy, society and culture to a new higher level. But it could only do this by exploiting the labor of the productive classes to make its profits. To survive, capitalism became increasingly destructive of "nature" and humanity. In the early 20th century it entered the epoch of imperialism in which successive crises unleashed wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Today we fight to end capitalism's wars, famine, oppression and injustice, by mobilizing workers to overthrow their own ruling classes and bring to an end the rotten, exploitative and oppressive society that has exceeded its use-by date.

### **We fight for Socialism.**

By the 20th century, capitalism had created the pre-conditions for socialism – a world-wide working class and modern industry capable of meeting all our basic needs. The potential to eliminate poverty, starvation, disease and war has long existed. The October Revolution proved this to be true, bringing peace, bread and land to millions. But it became the victim of the combined assault of imperialism and Stalinism. After 1924 the USSR, along with its deformed offspring in Europe, degenerated back towards capitalism. In the absence of a workers political revolution, capitalism was restored between 1990 and 1992. Vietnam and China then followed. In the 21st century only Cuba and North Korea survive as degenerate workers states. We unconditionally defend these states against capitalism and fight for political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy as part of world socialism.

### **We fight to defend Marxism**

While the economic conditions for socialism exist today, standing between the working class and socialism are political, social and cultural barriers. They are the capitalist state and bourgeois ideology and its agents. These agents claim that Marxism is dead and capitalism need not be exploitative. We say that Marxism is a living science that explains both capitalism's continued exploitation and its attempts to hide class exploitation behind the appearance of individual "freedom"

and "equality". It reveals how and why the reformist, Stalinist and centrist mis-leaders of the working class tie workers to bourgeois ideas of nationalism, racism, sexism and equality. Such false beliefs will be exploded when the struggle against the inequality, injustice, anarchy and barbarism of capitalism in crisis, led by a revolutionary Marxist party, produces a revolutionary class-consciousness.

### **We fight for a Revolutionary Party**

The bourgeois and its agents condemn the Marxist party as totalitarian. We say that without a democratic and a centrally organized party there can be no revolution. We base our beliefs on the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism and Trotskyism. Such a party, armed with a transitional program, forms a bridge that joins the daily fight to defend all the past and present gains won from capitalism, to the victorious socialist revolution. Defensive struggles for bourgeois rights and freedoms, for decent wages and conditions, will link up the struggles of workers of all nationalities, genders, ethnicities and sexual orientations, bringing about movements for workers control, political strikes and the arming of the working class, as necessary steps to workers' power and the smashing of the bourgeois state. Along the way, workers will learn that each new step is one of many in a long march to revolutionize every barrier put in the path to the victorious revolution.

### **We fight for Communism.**

Communism stands for the creation of a classless, stateless society beyond socialism that is capable of meeting all human needs. Against the ruling class lies that capitalism can be made "fair" for all; that nature can be "conserved"; that socialism and communism are "dead"; we raise the red flag of communism to keep alive the revolutionary tradition of the' Communist Manifesto of 1848, the Bolshevik-led October Revolution; the Third Communist International until 1924, the revolutionary Fourth International up to 1940 before its collapse into centrism. We fight to build a new Communist International, as a world party of socialism capable of leading workers to a victorious struggle for socialism.

To subscribe write us at  
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[www.cwgusa.wordpress.com](http://www.cwgusa.wordpress.com)

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**Harare Zimbabwe  
WORKING PEOPLE'S  
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION**  
October 13th a working peoples constitutional convention is convened in which the ZANU PF official COPAC proposed constitution which enshrines the bourgeois developmental model based on the Chinese 'Market Socialism' will be challenged by working class militants.

The proposed constitution states all "*State and institutions and agencies of government at every level must endeavor to facilitate rapid and equitable development, and in particular must take measures to promote private initiative and self-reliance;...*" firmly enshrining the state's favoring of private enterprise as the motor force of development.

*(Statement below distributed by the Revolutionary Workers Group , Zimbabwe)*

**REJECT THE ANTI-POOR COPAC  
DRAFT WRITTEN BY IMPERIALISM  
AND THEIR AGENTS!!**

**FIGHT FOR A CONGRESS OF WORKERS DELEGATES INCLUDING THE  
ORDINARY POOR!!**

The Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) welcomes all delegates to this historic meeting in the context of a global assault on the living conditions of the workers and the ordinary poor. The Copac draft or the Kariba draft 2 continues the attack on the workers and the ordinary poor albeit in a subtle manner. The demands by workers, residents, informal traders, students, youth, women and the sick who are the majority of the people were left out and this is not surprising. The final draft was written by the three parties and the imperialists represented by the UNDP. The whole process has proved to be a grand trick to dupe the ordinary people into supporting a capitalist document. The forthcoming all stakeholders' conference will not change anything, as it will only be a symbolic talk shop and even parliament working under the instructions or the three parties will not change anything.

*(cont.pg.19)*